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INDIA TODAY**



# COURIER

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MAY 1948.



A statue of Buddha, "the wise one", the Indian religious leader born over 2,000 years ago. His message has spread far beyond India's frontiers to become the living religion of many millions throughout the world.

Where the mind is without fear  
and the head is held high,  
Where knowledge is free;  
Where the world has not been broken  
up into fragments by narrow domestic  
walls;  
Where words come out from the  
depth of truth,  
Where tireless striving  
stretches its arms toward  
perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason  
has not lost its way into the  
dusty desert sand of dead habit;  
Where the mind is less forward  
by thee into ever-widening  
thought and action—  
into that heaven of freedom,  
my Father,  
let my country awake

Sentimental

Gabindranath Tagore

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## Geography For World Understanding

THE teaching of geography as a means of developing international understanding will be one of the main subjects for discussion at the 12th International Conference on Public Education, organized jointly by Unesco and the International Bureau of Education (I.B.E.), opening in Geneva, Switzerland, on July 4.

From these discussions it is hoped to show how geography teaching can play its part in education for world understanding by helping to break down the spirit of isolationism and to remove false ideas about other peoples and cultures.

As part of its educational programme for 1949 and 1950, Unesco is preparing a pamphlet of suggestions on how geography teaching can be used to develop this one-world outlook in children, and in 1950 a Unesco Seminar will be devoted to geography teaching.

Unesco and the I.B.E. felt that the Geneva Conference would provide an excellent opportunity for a preliminary exchange of views on this subject. After the Conference, the Unesco pamphlet will be completed in the light of the comments made, and distributed to the participants in the 1950 Seminar.

Another subject for discussion at the Conference is how primary school children are being taught natural science. This will be based on the results of an inquiry covering 47 countries, recently carried out by the I.B.E.

Information from a similar I.B.E. inquiry into the teaching of reading will also be studied, so as to bring into perspective its present status as a school activity.

The Conference will recommend ways of improving present-day reading lesson technique for children and for illiterate adults.

Reports on national educational developments during 1948 will be made to the Conference and will later be published in the 1949 International Yearbook of Education.

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# Torres Bodet Reaffirms Streamlined Action of Unesco

LITTLE more than forty-eight hours after his talk with President Truman in Washington, which terminated his successful visit to the United States last month, Dr. Torres Bodet, Director-General of Unesco, stepped off a trans-Atlantic plane in London for a three-day stay in Great Britain.

Between the late afternoon of Friday, April 8, and Tuesday, April 12 when he boarded another plane to take him back to Paris, Dr. Torres Bodet conferred with the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and with educational leaders in Oxford and Cambridge, and addressed the first 1949 meeting of the United Kingdom National Commission.

On April 11, addressing 300 delegates to the meeting of the National Commission, Dr. Torres Bodet recalled the days of the founding of Unesco in 1945.

Unesco, he said, "has not yet become the powerful organization of whose world-wide influence some of us dreamed... However, the essential thing is that the structure of Unesco does exist."

He paid tribute to the Unesco's first Director-General, Dr. Julian Huxley and declared that the Organization "is equally grateful both for the counsels and for the criticisms" it has received from Great Britain in what he termed Unesco's "apprentice years".

### Intense Intellectual Ambition

"IT would be a bad sign if we expected nothing but praise", he continued, "when we ourselves are far from being satisfied with our work. We have undertaken a tremendous programme. And our resources for carrying it out are so slender. If there is a fault to be found with Unesco, it is, after all, a very creditable fault: that of an intense intellectual ambition."

Dr. Torres Bodet went on to say that it had first been necessary to map out the domain which, sooner or later, should be Unesco's field of action. Hence the vastness of the programme drawn up at the Mexico City Conference and confirmed, in its main lines, by the Beirut Conference.

"Our task now", he said, "is not to retreat from the ambitious scale of the original programme but modestly to single out from the wide field of projects the ones which seem to us to be of the greatest importance

to culture, without for one moment losing sight of realities."

A TASK such as that entrusted to Unesco did not yield its fruits in a short time. Not a few centuries were needed to allow even the idea of intellectual cooperation to prevail, in the minds of the elite, over the lust of spiritual domination. Where nations had needed centuries, how could one expect an inter-governmental institution to achieve, in the space of months, decisive and numerous successes?

"Therefore", Dr. Torres Bodet went on, "in the work of determining which part of our programme was to be carried out within a particular time, we were guided by one overriding consideration: our prudence was not to imply any renunciation,

res Bodet, "people ask me, why is Unesco not in touch with this or that group of intellectual leaders, thinkers, artists and poets? Does its governmental status blind it to the importance of the private associations? You have told us yourself that the objective of Unesco is the good of man. Why, then, is there such a gulf between the average man and your Organization?

"I am bound to admit that questions like that disturb me profoundly. I feel that there is still an enormous gap between the activities of Unesco and the needs, hopes and fears of that average man, that man in the street, of whose destiny we who work in Unesco must always be thinking. On the other hand, I ask in my turn: is it not for the

there, with their conflicting interests and passions; and through them Unesco is often reduced to playing the part of a silent witness. Then, material obstacles. Whilst culture requires increasing numbers of exchanges and efficient communications, economic problems are erecting barriers between States, allowing books to get no further than the frontiers, stopping travel for research workers and holding up the transport of research equipment, and fixing quotas for ideas as well as for goods. Lastly, moral obstacles. These are the most serious, for they now arouse neither astonishment nor indignation. The people have suffered too long from spoken and written lies. How can one now ask them to be suddenly enthusiastic over ideas according to which they must redouble their efforts to bring about, at some distant date, a state of reasonable and just security?

"If these new demands are to be made upon them", said Dr. Torres Bodet, "Unesco must prove that it is not an abstraction, a platform for speeches, an international trade mark for mass-produced projects.

"But is Unesco alone to provide that proof?" he asked.

Unesco knew that, by itself, it could neither produce nor consume anything. Everything that it gave it had first to receive. Its activity would be absurd if it were ever unfortunate enough to be cut off from its living springs, that is, from the various spiritual resources of its Member States contributing to the promotion of friendship between nations and sympathy between cultures. "You, gentlemen", he went on, "are yourselves part of Unesco. Without you and without the Universities, writers, professors and scientists of the forty-six countries now taking part in its work, there would be no reason for Unesco, and Unesco would not exist."



300 delegates to the U.K. National Commission heard Dr. Torres Bodet in London last month state: "Help us to make sure Unesco does not become stiff in the joints..." Above, members of U.K. delegation.

and we were to give no one—least of all ourselves—the impression that questions deferred were questions abandoned. By this I mean that our criterion in making a choice will not be ease of execution. And between a spectacular project with no future and a simple, unimposing project likely to have useful results, we shall not hesitate. We shall choose the second.

Following this line of action, my first care as Director-General of Unesco was to submit to the Executive Board a list of priorities, which the Board approved.

### Three Considerations

"IT would indeed be a mistake to abandon the vastness of our programme; but it would have been an even greater mistake not to realize that the best programmes are those that can be carried out. The peoples expect from our Organization more than a string of promises, however fine. In deciding on the priorities... we took into account... three considerations: first, which projects are likely to be of the greatest and most far-reaching benefit to the great masses? Second, which project can best help the 'leaders' in their task of serving the masses? And, finally, which projects have already reached such a stage in Unesco's work that to interrupt them would be tantamount to a costly failure and would be thought an incomprehensible lack of administrative continuity?"

"Wherever I go", said Dr. Tor-

### Reserves and the Vanguard

"EACH time that I address an institution like yours", said Dr. Torres Bodet, "I put to its members the same request: Help us to make sure that Unesco does not become stiff in the joints before it has grown up. In the battle we have to wage against ignorance and incomprehension, you must be our reserves and yet, in a sense, you must be our vanguard, too..."

"You have done much for Unesco. And Unesco expects much of you, particularly if we consider the obstacles that stand in our way.

"They are of all kinds. First, political obstacles. Unesco wants, of course, to be above politics. But politics are indisputably

## INDIA'S SHARE OF BOOK COUPONS

The Indian Ministry of Education, which has received 15,000 dollars worth of Unesco Book Coupons, has allocated 10,000 dollars to universities, 4,000 dollars to scientific institutions and 1,000 dollars to private individuals.

It has been estimated that book coupons to the value of between 100,000 and 200,000 dollars would be needed to cover India's most urgent needs for foreign literature.

So far, for all countries, Unesco has been able to issue, on sale, book coupons totalling 100,000 dollars and approximately 44,000 dollars as free gifts from its Emergency Reconstruction Fund for 1948.

## I.T.I.

# World Theatre Congress Opens June 27 in Zurich

AN international agreement to facilitate the exchange of touring abroad of theatrical companies will be one of the important subjects to be discussed by the Second Congress of the International Theatre Institute when it meets in Zurich,

Switzerland, from June 27 to July 2, it was announced in Paris early this month by Mr. Maurice Kurtz, Secretary-General of the I.T.I.

The Congress will also consider a Belgian proposal calling for increased attention by the I.T.I. National Centres to the work of amateur theatrical groups. Other means of increasing international theatre relations will also be discussed during the seven-day meetings in Zurich, Mr. Kurtz stated.

The I.T.I., with headquarters provisionally established at Unesco House in Paris, was founded in Prague last July, with the assistance and under the sponsorship of Unesco, to act as a liaison centre for theatres and theatrical groups all over the world. Representatives from 20 countries approved the Charter which brought the body into being. Mr. Llewellyn Rees, the well-known British actor and theatre director, is Chairman of the organization's Executive Committee.

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OVER 2,000 teachers and professors from schools and universities in England and Wales gave a great welcome to Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Director-General of Unesco, when he addressed the annual conference of the National Union of Teachers at Margate on April 18th.

Delegates from seven other countries, including the United States, the Soviet Union and Poland, joined in the applause when Dr. Torres Bodet was introduced as "The first world citizen from the teacher's point of view".

Speaking in English, Dr. Torres Bodet said that his presence at the Conference represented a unique synthesis of Unesco's history and its aims: its history, because Unesco was born in Britain, at a Conference in London in the autumn of 1945; its aims, because they as teachers held the key to Unesco's fundamental objective—that through education the peoples should come to understand each other and be enabled to build for themselves a better and a peaceful world.

#### Our Hope for Future Peace

"**I**F there is any profession which, by its very nature, carries an obligation to implant Unesco's ideals in the minds of the young, it is the teaching profession", he stated.

"In education", he continued, "lies our hope for future peace and progress." This was recognized by the General Assembly of the United Nations in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted last December. The Article declares: 'Everyone has the right to education'—without distinction of any kind.

"In some countries such a statement appears self evident. But it is a Right that is far from being realized. In fact, today, more than half of mankind is illiterate. There are many countries where the proportion of illiterates is over 60% and in Africa and Asia the figure is often as high as 90%.

"Article 26 continues: 'Education shall be free, at least in so far as elementary and fundamental education are concerned. Elementary education shall be compulsory.'

#### A 'Backward' World

"**F**OR you, in this country, these conditions will appear as self-evident as the Right to Education itself. They have been achieved in Britain, and achieved in a large part as a result of the efforts of your own profession and of your own Union. You could not admit that the

# Teachers Hold Key To Unesco Aims', Director-General States

benefits of education should not be enjoyed by all the children of Britain.

"As citizens of the world we cannot—you cannot—admit that half of its children should continue to have no books, no schools, no teachers—no education, because they happen to have been born in so-called 'backward' countries.

"So long as these conditions exist we are all citizens of a backward world.

"But it will not be enough to achieve elementary education for all, momentous as that would be. As you well know, society has not discharged its duties towards the children when it has taught them reading, writing and arithmetic. These children who must build the future—a better and more peaceful world than our own—can only do so if they are enabled to develop their gifts and abilities to the full.

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights puts it this way: 'Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits'.

#### History and Nationalism

"**N**ONE of us dare acquiesce in the injustice—indeed, the danger—of reserving culture for the few, while distributing sparingly to the majority the rudiments of a purely utilitarian training.

"But our objective goes even beyond that. We must give all children the opportunity of becoming truly educated men and women. We must also help them to become good citizens, not only of their own country but of the world. To that end, it is essential that they should be taught history in a way that will help them to guard against prejudice and narrow conceptions of nationalism. Too often the schools to-day fail to offer the child the opportunity to learn the history of peoples other than their own. Too many children leave school totally ignorant of the ways in which civilization has been fashioned, and is still being fashioned, by the achievements of many peoples and many cultures.

"How can the child who is brought up



British schoolchildren listen to Mr. George Tomlinson, Minister of Education, explain a panel on "Human Rights", part of a recent Unesco exhibition in London. Dr. Torres Bodet is seen at right.

on the stories of his own national heroes only and their achievements, fail to fall prey, as an adult, to such mischievous ideas as the 'hereditary foe', the 'foreigner', the 'inferior race'?

"It is clear that even with the best of schools and the best of teachers, education for citizenship must be reinforced by the example of the family, the city and the country. Ethics could not be taught by slogans or aphorisms: they must be buttressed by the lessons of life.

#### The Future Cannot Be Evaded'

"**I**T may be said", he continued, "that we have not chosen the best time for the tasks we have set ourselves. We live in a world of moral and political tensions, threatened by a dangerous recrudescence of aggressive or defensive nationalisms. Yet no man chooses his fate; as a great South American educator put it, the future cannot be evaded."

Dr. Torres Bodet said that the tensions of our times aggravated the task and increased our responsibility. He did not suggest that teachers alone could carry on their shoulders the entire moral burden of the times, although some people would like them to do so, thinking no doubt that they would then be relieved of any further responsibility themselves.

"Unesco", he added, "is in somewhat the same position."

While there were those who argued that the political issues of our times were such as to render Unesco an amiable but futile adjunct to the United Nations, there were also those who felt that in bringing the Organization into being they discharged their full responsibility.

Since the Organization was created three years ago, 46 countries had joined and had given it for this year a budget of less than two million pounds. These were the funds of which Unesco itself disposed in the war against ignorance. If these were its sole resources, if the staff at Unesco House were the only soldiers in its army, then indeed the battle would be hopeless."

Within the past twenty-five years,

#### A Treasure of Richness

**D**R. TORRES BODET continued: "But we are backed by a treasure of incomparable richness—the accumulated, tested and ever-growing treasury of knowledge and experience given to us by the poets and philosophers and scientists of all the ages.

"We have our armies too. There are the countless heroes of the past—well-known and nameless—who fought before us to win the rights and the benefits we now enjoy. Our soldiers, today, are the men and women of goodwill everywhere; and in the front ranks are the millions of teachers.

(Continued page 4)



A section of the exhibition organized by the United Kingdom Commission for Unesco, in London, last month—how schools in war devastated countries are helped through Unesco.

# Four Zones of Germany To Profit From Unesco-Created Book Centre

**A** Book Exchange Centre in Germany, which will enable libraries in the four occupation zones to interchange publications with countries all over the world, was officially established on May 1, on the initiative of Unesco. Arrangements for the creation of a similar centre in Japan were also completed last month in Tokyo.

Located in Bad Godesberg, in the Western zone, the newly-created German Book Exchange Centre (Tauschstelle), will be financed by the Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft (Emergency Council for the Promotion of German Science) and a possible grant-in-aid from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Plans to create the German Centre were drawn up at a meeting convened by Unesco at Bad Godesberg on April 12, which was attended by librarians from almost every university library in Western Germany. In addition, a representative from a Book Exchange Centre in the Russian sector of Berlin also attended the meeting and agreed to assure close co-operation between the new Tauschstelle and the Berlin Exchange Centre.

Thus, between them, the two Centres will cover the four zones of Germany.

The Bad Godesberg Centre will work directly with Unesco in arranging the exchange of publications between Germany and Unesco Member States. In particular, it will supply information on German institutions seeking publication exchanges in any given subject and will dispose of complete lists of German publications for exchange.

Unesco will shortly distribute the first lists of such German institutions to the appropriate agencies in other countries. In many instances, the newly-established Tauschstelle can already furnish relevant information on exchanges. Enquiries concerning such exchanges with Germany should be addressed to: Tauschstelle, c/o Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft, Buechlerstrasse 55, Bad Godesberg, Germany.

\* \* \*

In Japan, the National Diet Library in Tokyo has been designated to act as co-ordination centre for publications ex-

change, and has already supplied Unesco with lists of learned societies, scientific institutions, universities, public libraries, agricultural experimental stations and of Unesco clubs in Japan, all of which desire to enter into international exchange agreements.

These lists which comprise nearly 800 institutions, will be circulated by Unesco in all parts of the world, and will be followed by lists of Japanese publications available for exchange.

Those interested in establishing exchange arrangements with Japan, or wishing to obtain bibliographical information from that country, are advised to communicate with the National Diet Library (attention of Mr. T. Kanamori, Chief Librarian), Akasaka, Tokyo.

The two new Centres have been created as an important part of Unesco's educational, scientific and cultural programme for Germany and Japan and bring to 5 the number of National Exchange Centres created in direct response to Unesco efforts. The other 3 are located in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States.

#### 'Seminário Brasileiro'

## New Literacy Drives Launched in Americas

A printed page is still the deepest possible mystery to more than half the people of the world. Today literacy campaigns are cutting down this figure.

Within the past twenty-five years, no less than two hundred and fifty million adults have been taught to read and write, but it is estimated that there are still one thousand two hundred million illiterates in the world today. Most of them live in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where recent efforts of national governments and international organizations have begun to show encouraging results.

Extensive campaigns against illiteracy are being waged in Brazil, Haiti, Mexico and other Latin American countries. In India, the Bombay City Adult Education Committee alone has taught one hundred and forty thousand adults to read and write in nine years. Rumania has planned to wipe out illiteracy by 1951 and Italy has hired an extra ten thousand teachers for the same purpose. The struggle against illiteracy is world-wide.

In order to make the best possible teaching methods available to all countries, Unesco and the Pan-American Union are sponsoring a six-week seminar for Latin-American educators in Brazil scheduled to open on July 27. A similar session for the Far East is to take place at Delhi, India later this year.

THE Brazilian Government has allocated the sum of \$50,000 for the Seminar which about 120 delegates from at least 25 countries are expected to attend. The city of Niteroi, Capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro, has been selected as the site of the meeting and all delegates and Unesco Secretariat members will be the guests of the Brazilian Government.

The Seminar will examine the causes of illiteracy in the Americas, the objectives and preparation of literacy campaigns, methods and materials best suited for teaching illiterates, and how to follow up the results of such campaigns and integrate them with Adult Education and other programmes.



N.Y.T. and A.P.  
William T. Salome (right) of Wichita, Kansas, U.S.A., meets Jean Falaise, Deputy Mayor of Orléans, France.

## WICHITA - ORLEANS

# 'Grass Roots' Internationalism Achieves Positive Results

**T**HE town affiliation idea attracted international attention early this month when war-devastated Orléans, one of France's oldest cities, joined hands with Wichita, Kansas, modern aircraft and farming centre, in a programme of international friendship which the Kansas State Commission for Unesco is encouraging between Kansas communities and those of other countries.

The project was formally launched on May 7-8, when Orléans and Wichita simultaneously celebrated the 520th anniversary of the liberation of Orléans by Joan of Arc. In Wichita, the Deputy Mayor of Orléans took part in a festival which included a reunion of veterans of the United States 137th Infantry Regiment, the liberators of Orléans in World War II. This regiment was composed largely of men from Kansas. Across the ocean in Orléans, the Mayor of Wichita participated in the traditional Joan of Arc festival.

Committees in both towns worked out a joint programme. In Wichita, radio recordings of the celebrations were made in English and French and exchanged with transcribed messages from Orléans. Wichita schools, camera clubs and civic organizations collected school supplies, art objects, pictorial materials, manual training and sports equipment to be sent to Orléans. Arrangements were also made to send a group of Wichita citizens to Orléans in July and August as "community ambassadors".

### Educational Aid

**S**OME 15 other communities in Kansas, formerly the centre of America's "isolationist belt", are forming friendships with European cities or towns through the Kansas State Commission, which now has over 40 County Councils for Unesco affiliated with it. Shipments of donated educational and cultural materials to schools, universities and other institutions in European towns will be a feature of this long-range programme for international understanding.

The Kansas programme has been formulated with the aid of Operation Democracy, a non-profit American agency which since 1947 has helped to "pair off" over 250 American and European communities. At this agency's offices at 369 Lexington Avenue, New York, there is a waiting list of 40 more American towns anxious to affiliate with communities abroad.

Most of the "adoption" towns are located in five European countries—France, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany and Italy. Unexplored fields now being considered by Operation Democracy are Korea, India and Yugoslavia.

### Origin of Plan

**T**HE exact origin of the town affiliation idea is rather difficult to trace in the welter of grass-roots experiments in internationalism which overtook America during and after World War II. It is known, for example, that Hudson, Ohio, "adopted" Souburg, Holland, as early as 1943. Some of the overseas relief agencies also used the town-to-town formula as part of their fund-raising campaigns in the United States.

The movement gained its greatest impetus, however, as a result of the wide publicity given to the "Dunkirk (New York)-to-Dunkerque (France)" programme on Thanksgiving Day, 1946. In autumn, 1947, the town of Locust Valley, Long Island, affiliated with the French town of St. Mère-Eglise. With no little optimism, Locust Valley proceeded to incorporate its committee under the name of Operation Democracy. The name was as spontaneous as all the rest—a peaceful mission on the part of ordinary people, by and for the people everywhere.

This initial project was immediately successful and drew many requests for advice from other American communities. With voluntary aid, Operation Democracy, in January 1948, established headquarters in New York, defined a nation-wide programme and set in motion the machinery to make it work. The programme was based on these principles:

### People To People

1. Overseas aid at this stage must carry a personal message from people to people. It must be the forerunner of a two-way exchange of friendships and ideas.

2. The community is a logical medium for such an exchange. It can be mobilized for action quickly and completely. It encompasses all phases of social, occupational and cultural existence, and its basic structure is the same everywhere.

3. Community action along international lines is in itself an important step toward the reorientation of the nation's thinking. It dramatizes and brings home to the people of "our town" the down-to-earth meaning of what the headlines and diplomats are saying.

Operation Democracy undertook the following concrete objectives:

1. To encourage and develop interest in town affiliation programmes throughout the United States, and to explain these programmes to communities overseas.

2. To provide an information service for American towns, including details on Communities overseas, advice on local organization at home, the shipping of gifts, liaison with voluntary and official agencies and programme publicity.

3. To co-ordinate the efforts of affiliated communities with a loosely knit, but basically integrated whole, with common aims and unity of purpose.

4. To keep abreast of changing conditions abroad, diminishing or changing needs, new cultural exchange opportunities, etc., and advise American Communities on these matters.

Operation Democracy saw clearly that charity as dramatized by posters depicting a starving child, or a ruined city, was no longer enough. Such words and phrases as "friendship", "people-to-people understanding", "grass-roots diplomacy"—these were the new by-words throughout America. The agency therefore stressed that aid *per se* should be regarded as one phase of inter-community relationship, a token of friendship, an act between neighbours, that always it should be preceded, and followed, by friendly personal contact between donor and recipient. Finally, that aid was to be only a beginning in a long-range programme of ever-widening contact between two communities.

### Work With Unesco

**C**LOSE co-operation between Operation Democracy and various branches of the United Nations was inevitable, and this is best illustrated by the present working arrangement with Unesco. Unesco State Councils in the three states (Kansas, California and Iowa), where Unesco is actively experimenting with popular participation in its programme, have recommended the Operation Democracy programme to its local county commissions, and many local groups have led their communities into town-affiliation programmes. Here, in line with Unesco's international objectives, the emphasis is almost entirely on cultural exchange and the sending abroad of educational material and aids.

As the need for emergency relief in Europe diminishes, Operation Democracy will urge—as it is now doing—greater effort in the field of educational rehabilitation and purely cultural exchange along Unesco lines. It will also attempt to focus the attention of American communities on areas which have been largely neglected in the past. Above all, however, Operation Democracy will continue to expand its field of co-operation with ALL GROUPS, and ALL AGENCIES, and ALL PEOPLE working towards international understanding. It is and intends to remain a service organization rather than a "movement". If at some future date a "movement" based on the town affiliation idea should arise, or if some already existing group such as the U.S. National Commission for Unesco should decide to adopt the technique on a large-scale basis, Operation Democracy will be happy to make available all the technical services at its command.

## Summer Camp For War Orphans To Open In France

**A**N International Camp of War Orphans will be organized this summer by the International Federation of Children's Communities. The Federation, set up with the aid of Unesco, has chosen the Moulin-Vieux "Republic", a children's community near Grenoble, in France, as the camp site.

With the aid of Unesco, governmental organizations and private individuals, the Federation is planning in August to group about 50 war orphans, aged 12 to 15, from children's communities in 17 countries.

Situated in a beautiful Alpine valley, the camp will give the children valuable experience in international living, as well as benefitting their physical health and education.

The programme will include physical culture, excursions in the region, and study of the folklore of various nations. The camp project, which was thought out by the children of Moulin-Vieux, will cost about 2,500,000 French francs and the Federation is therefore appealing for help to make it a success.

Cash contributions may be sent to Dr. Marie Meierhofer, Treasurer, International Federation of Children's Communities, 22 Weinbergstrasse, Zurich, Switzerland.

## TEACHERS HOLD KEY

(Continued from page 3)

"Finally, the advances of science have presented us with weapons that are no less effective for our kind of war than for the self-destruction of mankind."

"In the accomplishment of that task, Unesco places great hope in Britain, which has made such a magnificent contribution through the centuries to the culture of the world."

"You teachers of Britain—because of your cultural heritage—are especially fitted for the task that faces the world, and for which Unesco exists."

"We must reveal to all peoples, amidst the differences of language, customs and techniques, the solidarity and the unity of mankind."

"We must so bind the peoples together that they shall achieve a peaceful, and a better life for themselves and for their children—and for the children of the whole world."

### Schools Around the Globe

**A**CCORDING to a plan, submitted by one of the delegates, the new world educational institution would be based on the ideas and the international outlook of the Werkplaats International Children's Community at Biltzoven, Holland. Mr. Kees Boeke, principal of the Biltzoven school, explained the two salient features of the school: teaching was along modern lines following, as far as possible, the interest and needs of the children themselves, and decisions were taken only with the unanimous approval of teachers and pupils. He pointed out that the entire "chain"

# SUPPLEMENT



# COURIER

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## INDIA IN THE WORLD TODAY

Mahatma Gandhi greets an old Muslim peasant during a tour he made in 1947 in an effort to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity.

Pandit Nehru, Indian Prime Minister (right) with Maulana Azad, Education Minister (third from right) and Sir S. Radhakrishnan (head partly shown on left), at last month's inaugural meeting of the Indian National Commission for Unesco.

LAST month, the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco held its inaugural meeting in New Delhi to affirm the increasingly important role that India and the countries of Asia are playing in the development of education, science and culture.

"Already, India is numbered among the greatest States of an ancient Continent which history now summons to new responsibilities. Already, under the enlightened leadership of H.E. Pandit Nehru, she has played a worthy part in the United Nations and their Agencies," Dr. Torres Bodet stated in a message to the Indian Commission.

"You have a rich and ancient culture," the Director-General of Unesco wrote, "and a conception of Man's nature and destiny which is a rampart against the materialism which stalks mankind today. "India has her appointed place within Unesco. Her consequence will grow yet more and I myself expect great things from her. It will be the high duty of your Commission to secure the co-operation from your thinkers, scientists and artists which we need to sustain and enrich us."

Echoing the spirit of Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Torres Bodet continued: "To the universal goals Unesco seeks, there is but one path—that of joint effort by all cultures, to which they bring, not the drabness of uniformity, but the fullness of their rich diversity, with mutual understanding to cement the whole."

### Gandhian Ideals for Peace

"Of all the men of our day," he said, "he whose whole life best exemplified the ideals of peace and human brotherhood was your own Mahatma Gandhi. May I, then, pass on to you his definition, for Unesco, of the moral and philosophic bases for a universal declaration of human rights:

"I learned from my illiterate but very wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world."

"We have taken to our hearts that message," the Director-General concluded, "It will guide our future efforts, as it will—I know—your own."

THE Indian National Commission, at its final meeting, unanimously adopted a resolution recognizing that "Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest exponent of peace, non-violence and international understanding" and that "in the troubled state of the world today, the people in all countries need his message and methods," and agreed to set up a committee to "initiate, direct and stimulate the study of ideas and techniques expounded by Gandhiji."

In the light of these studies, the resolution added, a world-wide programme of action to promote universal peace and goodwill among all nations should be

*Asian culture is a vast mosaic, with a discerning nucleus in India. That mosaic has, through the ages, been put together and taken apart, many times.*

*Last month, the Indian National Commission for Unesco was officially inaugurated in the presence of the leading thinkers, scientists and statesmen of India and Asia.*

*To mark this occasion, the Unesco Courier is devoting this special Supplement to some of the aspects of education, science and culture which are shaping the New India of today.*

prepared for presentation to the Fifth General Conference of Unesco, to be held in May 1950.

Inaugurating the Indian National Commission Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, told the meeting—which was attended by over 300 persons from different parts of Asia—to look at world problems against the massive background of rapidly changing Asia. He stressed the new and vital importance of Asia in the world today, and the need for moral and spiritual values, and an understanding of the basic problems which have caused "the vast upsurge in men's minds all over Asia."

"We are today passing through a very vital and important stage in world history," Pandit Nehru declared, "when another shift takes place in the centre of gravity. What happens in Asia is likely to have a powerful effect not only on Asia but also on Europe and the rest of the world."

In the past, he said, the great problems of Asia were rather neglected and enough attention had not been paid to them either in the political or economic sphere.

"Now", he went on, "things have happened in the world which have resulted in giving an inevitable importance to Asia and that importance is likely to be greater and greater."

"I know that there is a good deal of goodwill and a desire to help, but what I want is a mental appreciation of the fact that Asia will be dominant in the sense that certain problems dominate the world."

Behind the political aspect, Nehru continued, lay all kinds of mass upsurges and there Unesco could do a tremendous job.

"I am glad that Unesco is spreading out more and more, spreading out not only to the countries of Asia and Africa, but spreading out in the sense that it has descended from the 'ivory tower' attitude."

Noting that most people, in the world today, do not have some standard by which they can judge events or policy or even their actions, the Indian Prime Minister said: "Unless you find some yard measure, some standard of values, it will not be good for us or for humanity. I think it is the business of Unesco to see to it that these values are maintained."

In an impressive extemporaneous speech, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, chairman of Unesco's Executive Board and one of the leading thinkers of India today, stressed the non-political character of Unesco, reminding his

audience that if they had a quarrel with certain political leaders this did not mean that they were quarrelling with the literary figures of those countries. He cited Goethe and Kant, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky as examples. "Mankind must learn," he said, "if it wishes to survive—and the only way it can survive is by surrendering part of its sovereignty and serving a common world society."

If humanity desired to develop a world society, he added, it must develop and educate people in world citizenship and make them understand that their national loyalties must be subordinated to the patriotism of the whole human race.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Education, in his inaugural address, expressed the hope that the Indian Commission would serve as the focus of the nation's educational, scientific and cultural activity, that it would help to enrich national life in those fields and also make for better co-operation and understanding with other countries.



# 'NAI TALIM' THE GANDHI METHOD Of 'Education for Life'



BY  
**HUMAYUN  
KABIR,**

*Joint Educational  
Adviser to the Gov-  
ernment of India  
and author of "Man  
and Rivers".*

**R**EMOVAL of illiteracy is perhaps the most stupendous problem that faces India on the attainment of her independence. Her decision to become a secular democratic state adds to the urgency of providing for the adequate education of her teeming millions.

The importance as well as the difficulty of the task may be measured by the fact that almost 85% of the Indian people are illiterate, and yet the future safety, welfare and progress of the State depend on the decisions which they may take. In its task of liquidating illiteracy, the National Government faces, on the one hand, the problem of the education of children of school-going age. This would train the citizens of the future.

Of even greater immediate urgency is the education of the adult illiterates. For them, mere literacy is not enough as they must exercise the rights of citizenship even while they are undergoing instruction in the letters.

For children of school-going age, the Government have adopted a programme of basic education. The aim is to provide free compulsory education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14. The magnitude of the problem can be realized when we remember that such children number about 45 millions. There are the problems of school buildings and of providing funds for the expenses of education. Besides, the lack of trained teachers makes it impossible to bring all these forty-five millions under immediate compulsory education.

## Three 5-Year Plans

**T**HE Government have, therefore, framed three 5-year plans for achieving this end. The first 5-year plan aims at bringing about 50% of the children between the ages of 6-11 under compulsion. At this stage, only the more populous villages will be taken in hand and compulsion will be extended by age groups from year to year. Thus, in the first year, all children of six plus in villages with a population of 1,500 or more will be brought under compulsory education. The next year compulsion will be extended to children of seven plus and so on. The second 5-year plan will extend compulsion in the same manner in the scattered and less populous villages. The third 5-year plan will extend compulsion to all children between the ages of 11-14.

For adult illiterates the government programme aims at providing instruction of a somewhat different type. Experience has shown that adults are not attracted by a merely literary training. Instruction for the adults is, therefore, conceived as Social Education. Such education will, in addition to the introduction of literacy, aim at the production of an educated mind among the adult illiterates.

As befits citizens of a democratic State, the instruction will seek to inculcate in them a lively sense of the rights and duties of citizenship. There will also be instruction in the laws of personal and public health. The adult responds most quickly to an economic incentive. His economic interest will be roused by offering him information that may enable him to increase his earning capacity. Social Education also aims at training and refining his emotions through art, literature, music, dancing and other recreative activities. Most important of all, it will emphasize the principle of human brotherhood and seek to impress on the adult the necessity of toleration as essential to democracy and peace.

**T**HE programme of social education will, in the first instance, be confined to people between the ages of 15 and 45. Special emphasis will be placed on the education of women and grown-up girls. Educated mothers are the surest guarantee to the education of the next generation. The target is the achievement of 50 per cent literacy in this age-group within the next five years.

In order to prevent a relapse into illiteracy, the interest of adult literates will be maintained through clubs, discussion-groups, summer schools and similar agencies. The aim will be to make the village school not only a place of instruction for children but the centre of community life. On certain days in the week the school would be reserved exclusively for girls and women.

## Emphasis on Activity

**T**HE essential feature of both basic education for children and social education for adults is the emphasis on activity.

It was Gandhiji who first tried to apply on a large scale this principle of teaching through activity. He went further and held that the activity must be social in significance. This is the essence of craft. He said that craft must be used in the education even of the child. Education based on a craft would not only help to develop his faculties but give him a consciousness of performing a social function from the very beginning of his life.

In addition, learning through a craft would help in making education accessible to all. Our present economic backwardness cannot be denied. We cannot afford an expensive system of education, however desirable it may otherwise be. Basic education would help to solve the problem of finance, as it is at least partly self-supporting. The very small child may not produce objects that are useful, but the product of the older children would have some social use. Even if they have no market outside, they can be used by the school itself.

## A Danger To Be Avoided

**T**HERE is, no doubt, a danger that such a system may turn the school into a factory for exploiting child labour. This, however, would be an abuse of basic education and there is no system in the world which cannot be abused. Whether for the child or the adult, the activity is a means to education. Education is, therefore, the end and the craft the means, but as Gandhiji would say, the means and the ends are distinct but not separate. Provided it is remembered that it is a school training citizens of the future and not a factory turning out goods for current consumption, there is nothing wrong in insisting that the products even of children must be good. Insistence on quality is, in fact, a part of education itself. If a thing is to be done at all, it ought to be done well.

**T**O write about the Indian literatures of to-day is an undertaking in scope and form, comparable to discussing the literatures of all Europe. One can give an impression only, a silhouette at best. Shrimati Sophia Wadia, the founder-editor of the Indian P.E.N., has written: "A renaissance has been taking place in modern India under the impact of the literatures of the West." It is that aspect which I wish briefly to touch upon.

There are at least ten important languages in India, all active and vital. Among these must be included English, which is the language of the intelligentsia and a unifying force par excellence. Its importance can be gauged by the fact that there are a thousand English periodicals in Bengal alone and as many others in South India. It is significant that the Hindi and Urdu works of the great novelist Premchand, for instance, are very rarely known to readers in other parts of India except through their English translations.

Rabindranath Tagore is known throughout India largely through his English renderings of his own works; in fact, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for his translation—interpretation would be more apt—of his own Bengali poems, *Gitanjali*. Iqbal, the great poet of the Panjab, is only known to readers outside his province due to Herbert Nicholson's translation of his monumental poem: *The Secrets of Self*.

## Poetry

**N** what has come to be styled Indo-Anglian Literature, several writers have made a remarkable, if not always great, contribution to literature. R.C. Dutt produced in brilliant hexameters *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata*, and introduced for almost the first time India's great epics to the English-speaking world. Toru Dutt, whom Edmund Gosse called "the fragile exotic blossom of song", produced superb poetry before she died at twenty. And in the realm of poetry one cannot omit to mention Sarojini Naidu's *Sceptred Flute*, which has won world-wide acclaim, the mystic and lyrical poetry of the sage Sri Aurobindo, and Rabindranath Tagore's *Gitanjali*. High praise must also be given to Bharati Sarabhai's *The Well of the People* and to the poetry of B. Rajan and Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.

## The Novel

**N**the novel special attention must be given to Mulk Raj Anand, (whose *Coolie*, written directly in English, has been translated into thirteen languages), Humayun Kabir's *Men and Rivers*, R.K. Narayan's *The English Teacher*, Bhabani Bhattacharya's *So Many Hungers*, Raja Rao's *Kanthapura*; in the short story by R.K. Narayan, in art criticism by Ananda Coomaraswamy's *The Dance of Shiva*; in autobiography by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and in miscellaneous and philosophical writing by K.S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi and Professor Radhakrishnan.

By and large, the literature produced in English is tintured by Western technique and is therefore a superb synthesis and so in many ways much more international. (1)

**T**AGORE and Iqbal are giants. Both were poets of the same stature but Tagore was a father of many forms: he was a novelist, short story writer,

# INDIAN LITERATURE And the Impact

By **BALDWIN**

*Author of several works of poetry, essays, and criticism.*

essayist, thinker, artist, musician, dramatist and critic, excelling in every genre. His astonishing genius—because so all-embracing—has not as yet been fully evaluated. Both Iqbal and Tagore realized that culture could not survive without being re-oriented and re-evaluated; that it was essential to have it replenished and invigorated by external influences; that, in fact, it was necessary to be a universalist. Tagore was the genius who, while remaining completely Indian, was a true world citizen.

Social conflict is the motif of the modern Indian literatures and their every aspect is discussed, treated and emphasized. A considerable amount of attention is being paid to the translation of works



Secular sculpture is often found in Indian temples. Above, "Young Woman Writing a Love Letter" (8-11th Century) is from temple at Orissa.

**W**HEN I saw Rabindranath Tagore for the last time he was a venerable figure bowed down with age and honours. He had just returned from a tour of Persia where he had been a guest of the Emperor. That long flight had caused him some trouble and he found it very difficult to breath in a crowded atmosphere. Yet he had come to pay his respects to another great compatriot of his, a scientist—the late Sir P.C. Roy. Tagore made a short speech which had all the magic of his personality. One could "feel" the presence of greatness. In his beautifully made robe and with his silken-white hair he looked as if he had just stepped out of India's glorious past. He was at once a hope for the future.

I look back on that day with a sense of pride because for once in my life I was not disappointed in the presence of greatness.

## The Failing Light

**A**BINDRANATH Tagore was born on the 6th of May in 1861—a critical time in the political and literary history of modern India.

"I was born when the modern age in Bengal had just begun," he wrote. "The light of the past age was then failing but had not quite gone out. I was able to get some idea of it from behind, partly by suggestion and partly from personal experience. There were many things in it which showed signs of senile decay, the weakness and laxness of which might make one feel ashamed, if judged by modern standards. Yet certain other things were discernible in those days, which like the rays of the setting sun amidst the shades of evening cannot be denied to the side of darkness..."

Tagore's early life was spent in the wonderful spirit of Upanishadic learning, and also in the hotbed of the most advanced radical thought then prevalent in Bengal. He thus passed early through the fever of fervid nationalism at a time when many educated Indians were priding themselves on the exclusive use of the English language.

While still a young boy, Tagore went to Europe to study literature. This was perhaps a turning point in his development. Henceforth he began to give expression, perhaps unconsciously, to the masterly assimilation of the two cultures which his analytical as well as highly creative brain was capable of doing.



In the New Indian Education great stress is put on handicraft training—inspired by Gandhi (shown above with Pandit Nehru).



## LITERATURES of the West

ON DHINGRA

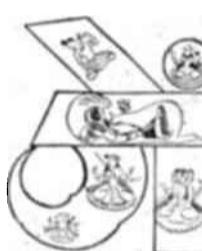
*Reviews and a forthcoming novel, "Out of Time".*

from foreign writers and titans like Shaw, Kafka, Rolland and Gide are always in vogue. Short stories, especially French, American, Russian and English, are specially in demand, as are also travel diaries and sketches and modern poetry and literary criticism. The thirst in short is almost insatiable.

### The Modern Theatre

This has been the state of affairs during the last few years. Plays have been written and produced but these are mostly adaptations, translations or social farces, sometimes satires or simply social or political propaganda. So much attention has been given to the facile form of the radio feature that the creative capacity of most playwrights seems to have been atrophied and crushed. In the garden of poetry it is different; peasant poetry has been written and lyrics have been sung and fine compositions made by Bachchan and Josh and Hafeez. In the realm of poetry, at any rate, the inspiration has not been stilled and some exquisite poetry has appeared. The general tendency is to appeal to the masses.

The New India is emancipating itself slowly from the shackles of foreign "isms". Literature is to be measured by



(1) If one were to enumerate some of the big names in the contemporary Indian literatures, in the various languages other than English, one must mention Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra and Tarashankar from Bengal; Prem Chand, Jainendra Kumar from Hindi; Iqbal, Josh, Akbar, Ismet Chughtai, Faiz from Urdu; K.M. Munshi, M.K. Gandhi from Gujarati; Bhai Viv Singh, Mohan Singh from Punjabi; Masti Venkatesa Iyengar from Kannada; Vallathol from Malayalam. Quite a number of these writers have happily been translated into English and may, therefore, reach a wider public.

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE

### Sentinel of the East

to that heaven of freedom, not of man as a citizen of a narrow nationalism but of man as a mind, as a thinker "where the mind is without fear... where knowledge is free... where words come out from the depths of truth."

Throughout his long and intensely active career, Tagore wrote over three thousand songs and poems. His short stories are gems of prose composition. In these he depicted the lives of common people with sympathetic insight, revealing their problems and portraying their courage under suffering. His plays and novels give a masterly analysis of the historical and social forces which gave shape to India's literature.

#### Dominated Literary Scene

AGORE'S influence on the writers of Bengal as well as on the rest of India, has been overwhelming. He dominated the literary scene of his native Bengal for such a long time that, with the notable exception of the novelist Sarat Chatterjee, no new school of literature grew up in Bengal for nearly sixty years.

A veritable Tagore cult developed in Bengal where young writers and artists even copied the poet's handwriting and spoke in the language of Rabindranath's poems.

When, at the age of sixty, Tagore took to painting, it created a sensation not only in India but in the salons of Paris where his tableaux were on view. His manyfold genius is too intricate for detailed description in this short article. He absorbed Islamic and European cultures and wrote extensively in English—a language he enriched by his deep philosophical essays and translations of his original works in Bengali.

Rabindranath is perhaps the only Asiatic poet whose genius was recognized all over the world during his own life-time. Honours were heaped on him by learned societies and humble institutions alike. Mass adulation haunted the poet everywhere he went, in the cause of India's literature. For his Hibbert Lecture in 1931, he chose "Religion of Man"

BY  
**NIRMAL CHAUDHURI**

## Towards Industrialization SCIENTIFIC STRIDES OF MODERN INDIA

By S. N. SEN

Registrar, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta.

INDIA'S outstanding contribution to abstract philosophical and religious thinking often tends to obscure her equally important contribution to positive sciences. In fact, the study of sciences in India is as old as her civilization itself, which is contemporaneous with that of ancient Sumer and Babylon. The savants who meditated and experimented on the banks of the Ganges and the Indus not only enriched life morally and intellectually, but also made living easier through their many inventions and discoveries in mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and metallurgy, medicine and botany. These have left their permanent mark in world science.

Cross-fertilization of ideas among men of science from different lands, as an essential condition of progress and advancement, has been a characteristic feature of Indian Science, as of other fields of knowledge, over the centuries. India has given to others as much as she has received from them. Thus Arab mathematics was considerably influenced and enriched by India's progress in this science, and learned Indian mathemati-

cians were invited to the Court of the Caliphs to translate the monumental mathematical works bearing the general name "Surya Siddhantikas". It is well-known that the concept of the zero and imaginary numbers, which originated in India, reached Europe via the Arab world. In a similar way, Indian astronomy, particularly the experimental and observational astronomy, as then existed, came under the strong influence of contemporary Persian developments.

#### Modern Science Comes To India

In recent years, the flood-gates of modern science have been opened to irrigate her fields of thought and intellectual activity, which long remained barren and unproductive. Already there is the unmistakable sign of her returning fertility. The brilliant crop of scientists she has produced during the last fifty years permit us to hope that before long India will contribute to the general body of science as effectively as any other nation.

In experimental and mathematical physics, Indian scientists have already found an honoured place among the international community of physicists. The late J.C. Bose carried out some of the earliest research in wireless transmission and on the sensitivity of living plants. C.V. Raman who was awarded the Nobel Prize, gained world fame for his work in the scattering of light and molecular and crystal physics of M.N. Saha in nuclear physics; H.J. Bhabha developed the first convincing theory of cosmic rays and fundamental particles, while the noted Subrahmanyam Chandrasekhar, now in the United States, has contributed to stellar dynamics and astrophysics.

(Continued on page 9)

## System of 'Untouchables' Abolished

FOR countless generations, the system of "untouchables" has hung like a curse over India. Mahatma Gandhi, who had revolted against this concept and practice while still a little boy, dedicated himself, along with many of his countrymen, to the battle against "untouchability".

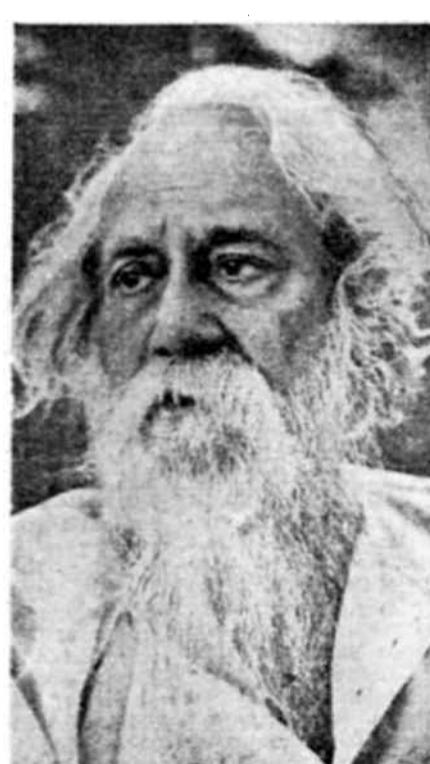
"It may be a mere dream", he wrote, "as unreal as the silver in the sea-shell. It is not so to me."

On another occasion he declared, "Swaraj (self-government or independence) is a meaningless term, if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection, and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture".

Last January, a little over a year after Swaraj, the Government of India passed a constitutional law abolishing the system of "untouchability". This revolutionary development coincided with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which India is thus doing her best to implement.

The new law grants full citizens' rights to every Indian, irrespective of sex or social status. This means that, for the first time, millions of former "untouchables" will have the right to vote when the general elections are held in India next year.

In other ways too, the former "untouchables" are being given new opportunities. Places of worship, from which they were barred, have now been opened to them. In Bombay, the Government has already opened schools to them on the recommendation of a committee which included Dr. Ambedkar, once an "untouchable" himself and now India's Minister of Justice. Under the Government's ten-year plan, all Indians are to be fitted to play a full part in the life of their country.



Rabindranath Tagore  
"Poet Laureate of Asia"

# THE ARTISTIC REVIVAL IN INDIA

## MUSIC, THE DANCE, PAINTING

**I**N India we speak of the sixty-four arts, but so deep has been our degeneration within these three or four centuries that only music has remained the most traditionally alive and technically developing expression of the aesthetic creative force in India. The Moghuls were great lovers of music and, as such, the musical tradition, especially in North India today, is very vigorous and capable of absorbing more new tendencies.

Like all things traditional, however, the new can only be absorbed in terms of the principles already established and even when it takes a new form the change is ultimately imperceptible. The great musician Abdul Karim Khan was no inferior to the masters of the Indian musical tradition, but yet it carried a new element of the modern without hurting the established principles. He and his disciples are without doubt to-day the most impressive examples of the Indian tradition capable of adapting itself to modern conditions. The famous school of music in Lucknow is an example of this new spirit.

But in the South, where the tradition continues in a more virile form, the public still has a taste for the forms which have not changed perhaps for several hundred centuries, and music still

By  
**RAJA RAO,**  
Novelist and short story writer: "Kawthropura", "Cows of the Barricade".

plays an important part in the lives of the people. You could walk almost anywhere in the streets of South India and hear some of the finest of classical music and also see representations of certain traditional patterns of Indian dancing.

### Traditional Dance Forms

**I**N fact, Indian traditional dancing is still a very vital part of South Indian social life. Whether it be in temple or courtyard, or home, the hand symbols and eye movements and foot work of the famous Bharatha Natya Sastra are still to be seen practised, and in Malabar the Kathakali traditions of dancing are so popular that almost every week troupes move from village to village, dancing the story of one of the great epic characters, Saint, Hero or Mother. And in the North, particularly in the various States ruled by Mahajahs, the northern school of dancing called Kathak still flourishes with its most complicated foot-work. In the East of India, the Manipuri school of dancing has a recovered grace which is lost elsewhere.

There is no doubt that Indian dancing is one of the forms of Indian traditional art that will effect a very great change in the dance techniques of Europe, once it gets known. The success of a

dancer like Ram Gopal outside India shows the immense possibilities of this traditional art of India.

### Experiments in Painting

**I**N painting, tradition had degenerated to a greater degree than any other art. It would perhaps not be wrong to say that the nineteenth century had no significant painter. In recent times, however, with the re-discovery of the ancient traditions through the art of Ajanta, and of the Moghul and Rajput paintings, a sincere effort has been made to link up the contemporary and the past. The results have not always been happy, as the neo-classical was of a sentimentalism that seemed unbelievable in any vigorous artistic revival. However, the creative efforts of a few Bengali painters and the genius of certain painters trained in European techniques discovering the Indian mode of sensibility, such as in Amrita Sherghil, produced some interesting experiments and a few great achievements. It must be



A young student learning to play the Veena, one of the best known musical instruments in India.

confessed nevertheless that India to-day has no great painter, whereas she has poets, musicians and dancers who are inferior to no one in the preceding centuries.

### Assimilation of the Past

**T**HE Indian problem in the arts—as in her social and intellectual problems—remains the same: the revolt against the past has only made for the inevitability of the assimilation of the past. In fact, tradition based as it is on unchang-

ing principles, has a capacity for adaptation which surprises one. The Indian artist has no fear to be modern, because, for him, to be modern is only to manifest the contemporary mode of a classical expression. Realism or change cannot make him afraid for they are only methods of renewal at the level of expression and not at the basis itself. Indian artistic tradition thus proves to the world that the metaphysical is the only recurrent discovery of every revival. Hence, there is hope for Indian art.

## Contemporary Indian Films For International Understanding

By

**Kwaja Ahmad Abbas**

who is the sponsor of the Indian Peoples' Theatre Movement has an intimate knowledge of modern trends in the Indian film industry and therefore writes on them with authority.

**C**OMPARATIVELY speaking, India has had practically no opportunity of exporting her culture through the medium of the cinema. The few Indian films that have ever crossed the seas have been seen by very limited audiences, and it is still doubtful whether they will ever be able to compete successfully with American and European products in the foreign market.

But there is no reason why an attempt should not be made to secure at least a specialized and select audience abroad for the right type of Indian films. Some of our Ambassadors have already taken steps to secure good Indian films for exhibition in their Embassies. Film societies, cultural organizations and educational institutions in all countries would surely welcome opportunities of seeing, from time to time, a representative selection of Indian films.

But it is important that foreign audiences should learn to look at Indian films as a mirror of Indian life, and should not expect that universality of interest which the standardized product from Hollywood is able to provide. The foreigner is sometimes apt to complain that Indian films are inordinately long, though none of them so far has beaten the record of *Gone With The Wind*.

It is true, however, that the tempo of story development in an average Indian film is slower than in its Hollywood counterpart. So, to a foreigner, it seems longer.

This criticism applies not only to film making but to a whole



A 14th Century bronze figure of Shiva, the Indian ascetic deity.

way of life. The Indian films are slow because the tempo of Indian life is slow. The Indian films will acquire the nervous tension and mounting tempo of a Hollywood thriller when the impact of industrialism has created the same psychological atmosphere in India as in England and America.

The preponderance of songs in an Indian film has been its most exasperating feature for foreigners and even for westernized Indians. The commercial (and, therefore, primary) reason is that the cinema in India has developed into an omnibus entertainment for millions of uprooted peasants and small town folk who have lost their rich traditions of folk song and folk dance and found nothing to substitute it in the cities and the big towns.

Again, through religious musical expressions like *kirtan*, *bhajan* and *gawwali*, the song is woven into the fabric of Indian life more closely and intimately than in any other country.

What kind of Indian films should be shown abroad? There can be as many answers as the different varieties of films produced by us. Some would favour mythological and puranic films

as they represent the "spiritual" heritage of India; others would favour the historical films about our emperors and empresses to show to the world "the Glory that was Ind". No doubt their colourful pageantry would appeal to the Western audiences as they approximate more closely to the average Westerner's notions of the "exotic" East.

The modern-minded ultra-realists would ban the export of all such films and insist that only films on contemporary themes should be sent abroad. But again there would be divergence of views as to whether it is advisable to send out some of our films which expose our social evils, as that might create an unfavourable impression about India.

If the task was left to me, I would select the following ten films for international exhibition.

1. SEETA (East India Films). This, in my opinion, is the most dignified, the most beautiful and the most meaningful mythological film so far produced in India. It has none of the tinselly gaudiness which characterizes some of the more elaborate and expensive films on the same theme.

2. VIDYAPATI (New Theatres). Regarded by many as Devaki Bose's greatest and last masterpiece, this film should be included because it handles a typically Indian emotional-mystic theme in an artistic manner, and also represents a distinct era in Indian history and a (somewhat idealized) picture of old feudal society.

3. PUKAR (Minerva). Though technically better films have been produced on Moghal themes, this remains the most impressive and significant of them all. Through this story of Jehangir's sense of justice, the world will get a glimpse of all that was best in the Moghal era.

4. TUKARAM (Prabhat). Dozens of devotional pictures about every conceivable saint in India have been made but in utter simplicity, fidelity of detail and humanistic approach, Tukaram remains unbeaten. One need not believe in miracles or even in religion to believe in a human being like Tukaram; the proletarian saint who preached a good life by his good actions.



The Indian actress Jayasree in the title role of *Shakuntala*, the Indian film version of the Sanskrit classic by Kalidasa.

I wouldn't say they are the Ten Best Indian Films, though obviously some of them would come in that category; but, taken together, they provide a more or less complete cross-section of India—and the Indian cinema. Here, then, is my list:

5. DEVADAS (New Theatres). Here is the classic story of emotional frustration, written by the inimitable Sarat Chatterjee, and filmed with a youthful artistic flair by Barua.

6. PRESIDENT (New Theatres). A modern melodrama in Hollywood style, the "father and founder" of the boy-meets-girl films in India, and Director-Scenarist Nitin Bose's abiding contribution to Indian filmcraft.

7. UNEXPECTED (Prabhat). Directed by Shantaram in the days when he believed in utter realism, and the first daring and progressive picture on the theme of forced marriages.

8. BARI DIDI (New Theatres). The most beautifully poignant story of a widow's frustrated emotions, handled with rare artistry and dignified restraint.

9. DHARTI KE LAL OR CHILDREN OF THE EARTH (People's Theatre). The first non-commercial, realistic feature-documentary on the grim tragedy of the Bengal Famine.

10. DOCTOR KOTNIS (Rajkamal). Shantaram's filmic tribute to the young Indian doctor who died a martyr's death in China, while serving humanity, along with the Congress Medical Mission. The right note on which to conclude this series of films representing India.

(The above article is reprinted from the Indian review "The March Of India", Volume 1, No. 2.)



Dance rules dating back over 2,000 years are still faithfully observed in India to-day.

Using a "language" of gesture, posture and movement, the dancers can portray episodes from Indian epics, expressing such varying emotions (rasas) as love, pathos, wrath or fear.

Their techniques include movements of the feet and ankles, and body bends, each of which signifies something visible. The neck, head, eyes and eyebrows are all brought into play, the three fundamental eye gestures alone expressing 36 feelings.

Hand and fingers signs (mudras) are used to extend the "story telling" code. For one hand there are 38 "mudras" and for both hands, 37, some of which have over 40 meanings.

- \* **ONE** fifth of the world's people live in India.
- \* **OVER** 10 million people die every year in India.
- \* **FORTY** percent of children die before age of 5.

- \* **YET** annual increase in population is 5 million.
- \* **70 %** of India's people depend on agriculture.
- \* **YET** only 53 percent of land is sown with crops.

# Population Problems Of India and Pakistan

by Dr. Sripathi Chandrasekhar

## PART. II

In our April issue, Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, head of the Department of Economics, Anna-malai University, Chidambaram, India, discussed some of the main causes underlying the population problems of Pakistan and India.

We publish below a second article in which the author examines possible answers to these problems. The two articles, in expanded form, will shortly be published as part of the Unesco-sponsored "Food and People" pamphlet series.

Last month, Dr. Chandrasekhar concluded by stating that the population problem has to be considered in relation to the means of sustenance, mainly food supply.

INDIAN agriculture is characterized by primitive methods of farming, dependence on the vagaries of the monsoon, sub-division and fragmentation of land, consequent on the Hindu and Moslem laws in inheritance (which enjoin the succession to immovable property by all male heirs, usually in equal proportion) leading to uneconomic holdings and to excessive dependence by the majority of the people on land for livelihood.

The primitive technique of Indian farming is responsible not only for the low yield per capita, even when compared to countries like Japan and China, but also for the gradual deterioration of land with soil erosion and deforestation.

This does not mean, however, that there is no scope for improving Indian farms and their yields. According to 1939 official statistics, one third of the cultivable land in both India and Pakistan lies idle—not fallow.

Thus of a cultivable area of 432 million acres, only 53 per cent is sown with crops, 11.8 per cent is fallow, and no less than 35.8 per cent of land is cultivable but left waste.

India has, therefore, not exhausted the supply of her cultivable land, and what is cultivated appears to be eroded and exhausted because of the primitive technique of farming. With modern methods of agricultural science, of erosion prevention and soil reclamation, the cultivated land can be made to double its present yield and bring much of the so-called uncultivable waste under profitable cultivation. Such an improvement is welcome but it will touch only a fringe of the problem.

While increased yield and more acreage of cultivation are possible with the aid of science, they cannot by themselves afford a better standard of living to the

### Arable and other Cultivated land (acres)/head

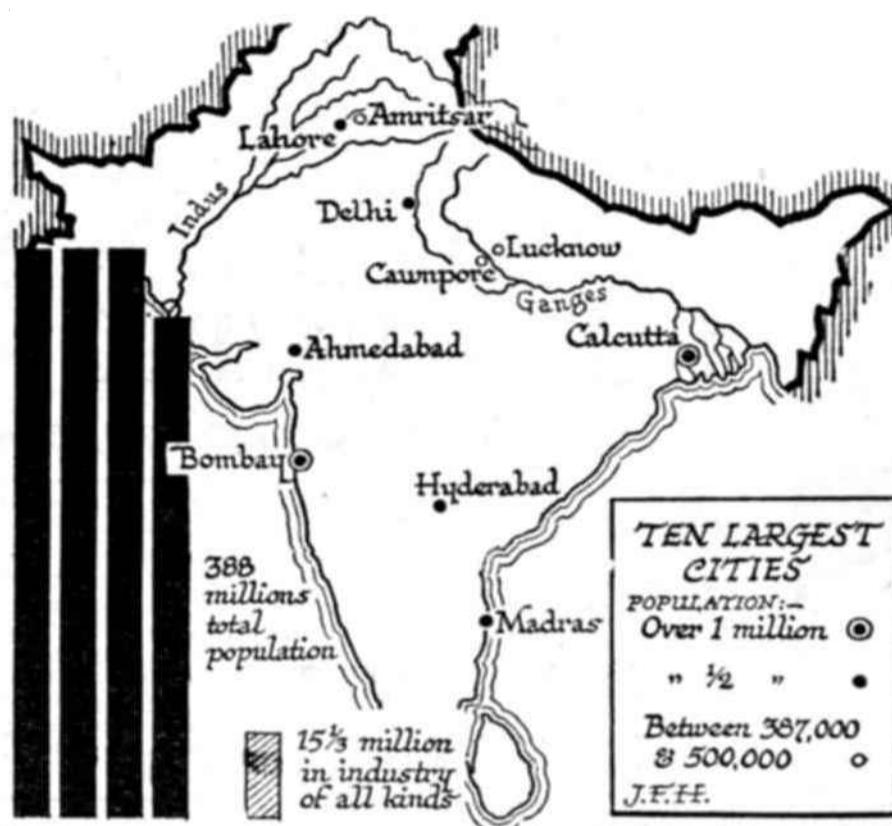


Indian population, or completely solve the population problem, unless and until a substantial number of people now dependent on land are transferred to some other productive employment like industries.

### Industrialization

INDUSTRIALIZATION is often offered as a stock remedy for Indian population problems. The industrialization that has taken place in India during the last thirty years, however, has not helped to ease population pressure because it has been piecemeal and unplanned, and the percentage of population gainfully employed in modern industry has been less than one per cent of the total population.

Only planned large-scale and rapid industrialization and the development of cottage industries—there need be no conflict between these two—can keep pace with the growing population and siphon



off the surplus population from the overcrowded land to factories.

India's industrialization is important in the solution of her population problems for two reasons. It will increase the productivity of labour and create an abundance of badly needed commodities and services and transform the present economy of scarcity into an economy of abundance. Secondly, and this is probably more important for India, industrialization will encourage the development of new urban patterns of living which lead to the control of the high birth rate.

### Migration

WHAT about migration as a solution to the Indian population problem? As far as external or international emigration is concerned, there seems to be no opening, because the world has not reached the stage for the adoption of an international migration policy based on the just needs and available resources of various countries and peoples. And once we grant, as we must, that every country must have the right to determine the composition of her population, India cannot object to the unwillingness of certain countries, however thinly-populated they may appear to be, to receive large numbers of Indian immigrants.

Nor does India want to create unhappy minority problems as in the Union of South Africa. The total number of Indians settled overseas as permanent immigrants to-day number about four and a half million, but the annual increase of India's population is about five millions. Even were emigration outlets available, it is unreasonable to expect a major portion of this increasing population to leave their homeland. For India, such relief may not even be a permanent solution.

As for the possibility of internal migration as a method of relieving the population pressure, there is not much scope either, because there are no empty spaces within the geographical confines of India and Pakistan.

CERTAIN patterns of inter-provincial migration established in India during the last thirty years show that inter-provincial migration has been constantly going on. We have no reliable figures, but these population movements are more of a seasonal migration and do not have any permanent effects. And then, when one group of people have moved out of a certain province, another group of people seem to be moving in. So the net result of such inter-and-intra-provincial movements does not seem to constitute any relief to the pressure on the land.

If migratory movements between different regions are to be explained as a response to the "pull" of prosperity from less crowded areas, rather than the "push" of poverty from overcrowded areas,

there are no regions in India where the standard of living of the masses is markedly higher than in the rest of India. Thus, whatever the internal migration that has taken place in the last thirty years in India, this has been in response to rigorous famines or the construction of new irrigation projects and canals, rendering the cultivation of more land possible.

In these circumstances, internal migration offers no substantial relief from population pressure. And the partition of the country, which has already forced upon both India and Pakistan communal migrations, renders the prospects of inter-provincial migration dim.

## SCIENTIFIC STRIDES

(Continued from page 7)

The late P.C. Ray, the doyen of Indian science, was almost singly responsible for building the present Indian schools of chemistry, now led by such brilliant chemists as S.S. Bhatnagar, J.C. Ghosh, N.R. Dhar, J.N. Mukherji, K. Venkataraman, P.C. Guha and others. In the capable hands of Bhatnagar, Ghosh, Dhar and Mukherji, physical chemistry in particular has made remarkable progress in recent times.

### Expanding Research

THIS sweeping reference to the name and work of a few prominent scientists selected at random by no means represents either the volume or the intensity of the research now being carried on in India in various branches of science. Nor is it intended to attempt such an account here. What is important to note is that efforts to cultivate the modern sciences, which are hardly fifty years old in India, have already begun to bear fruit.

Thus, judged by the comparatively recent availability of research facilities and the extreme poverty of scientific laboratories, India's scientific achievements which include one Nobel Laureate and eleven Fellows of the Royal Society, the highest scientific distinction in the British Commonwealth of Nations, are itself a glowing tribute to her inventive and creative genius.

### Technology And Industrialization

INDIA has, however, been less successful in applied research and technology. The development of these is closely related to the economic condition of a country. The primarily agricultural economy of India, with little or no

**Birth Control**

THE last and the most important solution is that of Birth Control. It is too late in the day for India to discuss the pros and cons of Birth Control. The arguments for and against contraceptives have been advanced and the scientific verdict has been in favour of it. Birth Control appears to be an important solution. It certainly has a vital role to play in India's population policy, along with the modernization of agriculture and the industrialization of the Indian economy.

Apart from the general rural conservatism of the masses that offers resistance to every reform, there is no organized resistance either by the government or the church as in some countries. Nor are the Indian religions opposed to planned parenthood. It will not be a hard task, therefore, to enlighten the public mind in India as to the benefits of Birth Control.

### Human Conservation

DESPITE the unprecedented scientific advances in the world during the last thirty or forty years, there is an enormous human loss in India from conception to old age. With all the available resources of scientific knowledge, skill and facilities for protecting people's health, and curing or alleviating the many ills and disabilities to which people are exposed, India continues to waste thousands of human lives.

Despite our belief in the intrinsic value of human life as a central value of our culture, we have offered resistance to certain reforms that encourage healthy and purposeful living. Human erosion and loss, therefore, persist long after they have become unnecessary because of certain traditional ideas and beliefs that still linger from the past.

While belief in "fate" as a controlling factor is slowly tending to disappear, it has not disappeared completely. These fatalistic beliefs persist in every society, but much more so in India, long after they have been rendered obsolete by scientific knowledge which is powerless to displace them.

The way out in this matter is to give up clinging to archaic ideas and practices that are no longer valid according to present knowledge, nor compatible with democratic affirmation of human values.

development of industries, has so far militated against the development of applied sciences. From the experience of other countries and also from India's own experience, it is clear that her future economic progress will be impossible of achievement without substantial industrialization.

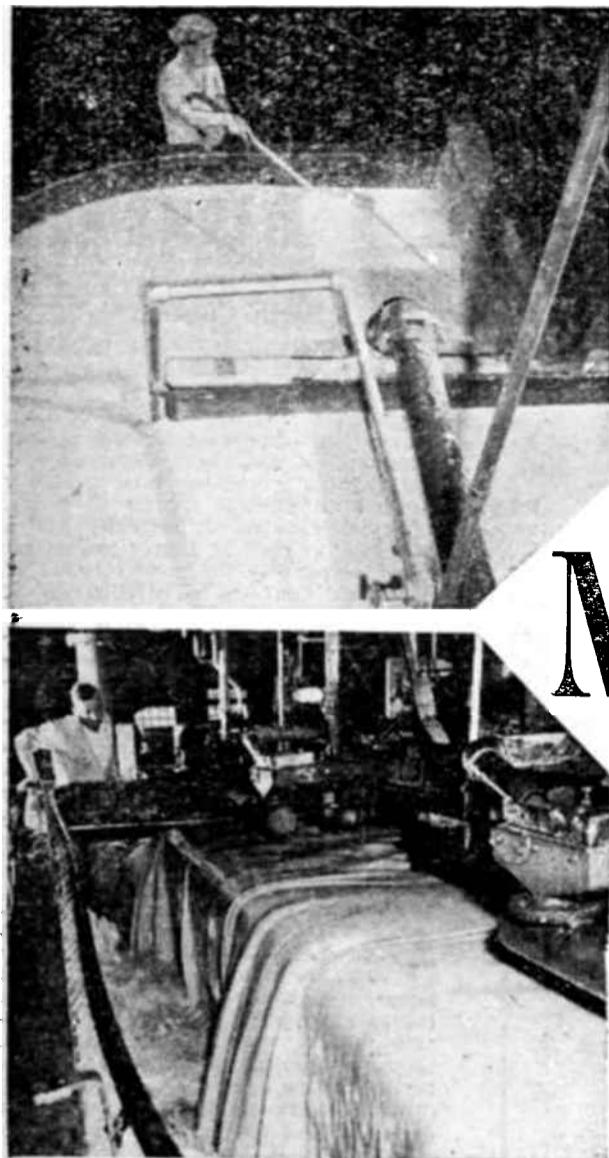
At the same time, it is also true that the success of industrialization will largely depend on the country's scientific and technological ability.

Both the scientists and the statesmen are now keenly alive to this fact. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who himself received early training in science, has given a fitting recognition to the supreme importance of science in national welfare by creating a full-fledged Government Department of Science, directly under his own responsibility. One of the principal organs of this Department, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, has planned a chain of national laboratories. A number of these Laboratories have already been established under the directorship of able and internationally known scientists, both Indian and foreign.

### Closer Ties With Other Nations

INDIA is passing through a momentous period of her history. Her scientific ability is the greatest asset in all the steps she is now taking for future development. Need for intensive collaboration with other nations in the fields of pure and applied sciences is greater than ever. For this reason, she specially welcomed the establishment of Unesco and of its Field Science Co-operation Offices, one of which is now functioning in India and has already proved of great service. Such scientific collaboration will not only benefit India but all the nations of the world.

S. N. SEN.



# MORE NEWSPRINT PRODUCTION URGED

*Unesco Message To Woodpulp Conference in Montreal*

**A**MONG the different products of wood there is one of particular importance to Unesco, because it is a material essential to the spread of education and scientific and cultural knowledge, and to the development of mass communications. That product is paper and, especially, newsprint.

Unesco, ever since its establishment, has given particular attention to the problem of the world's needs in respect of paper and newsprint. The survey of the technical needs of the press, radio and cinema, which has been systematically conducted by our Organization since 1947 and which by the end of this year will have covered 44 countries, has made it possible to show what these needs are.

The experts who have met each year to examine the results of the survey have stressed the dangers of an insufficient supply of newsprint from the three standpoints of the independence of the press, social progress and international understanding. Their reports have been published.

## More Than a Commodity

**T**HE 1948 Commission reported the situation in these words:

"The supply of newsprint is of paramount importance to the achievement of the aims of Unesco. Under present conditions of short supply, newsprint should be considered as very much more than a commodity. A limited supply tends to hinder the freedom of expression. A serious shortage

Although the world's production of newsprint today exceeds pre-war levels, the supply cannot meet the real present-day world needs. The shortage threatens to grow even worse unless energetic steps are immediately taken to speed up and expand production.

This message from Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Director-General of Unesco, was read

on April 28, to representatives from 26 countries, including the U.R.S.S., Germany and Japan, attending the Preparatory Conference on World Pulp Problems in Montreal, Canada.

In view of the importance of the problems raised by Dr. Torres Bodet, the Unesco Courier reproduces, below, the major part of the text of this message.

prevents the press from fulfilling its chief function of providing information to the peoples of the world.

## The Alarm Sounded

**N**IN THIS SPIRIT, AND ON THE BASIS OF THESE DATA, Unesco has repeatedly drawn the attention of the United Nations to the problems of an insufficient production and unequal distribution of newsprint: firstly, to the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and the Press, and, again, to the Conference on Freedom of Information held in Geneva in the Spring of 1948. That Conference adopted a recommendation which is now before the General Assembly of United Nations, its text being as follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION DRAWS THE ATTENTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

to the harm and dangers which inadequate production of newsprint, and unequal distribution thereof, have on the exercise of freedom of information;

RECOMMENDS that the Economic and Social Council consider as soon as possible, in the light of the enquiries carried out by the Council and by Unesco, practical measures to remedy the situation; and

RECOMMENDS that governments give their support to the Unesco plan for aid to war-devastated countries; and

INVITES UNESCO to extend such aid to other countries suffering from an acute shortage of newsprint."

## Needs of Intellectual and Social Progress

**T**O-DAY is Unesco's first opportunity of making itself heard in a Conference of experts where the requisite degree of competence is brought to the consideration of the various technological and economic aspects of the problem, and for this I wish to express my gratitude to the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Canadian Government. In particular, it gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity of testifying publicly to my satisfaction at the co-operation which has developed in this matter between my Secretariat and that of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

It is my earnest wish that this co-operation between Specialized Agencies whose work is complementary may be an augury of an endeavour by governments to find a solution for the problem before us which shall take account at once of the hard facts of economics and the requirements of human society, of physical necessities and spiritual aspirations.

In this as in everything else it is the requirements of society and the spiritual aspirations I have mentioned which inform Unesco's viewpoint. Unesco's point of view is that of the public and those who serve the public: of the few seeking to express themselves, of the masses crying for education, of sundered peoples seeking to know and understand each other. In a word, Unesco approaches the question—that of paper like all others—from the angle of the needs of intellectual and social progress. For Unesco, that is a duty embodied in its Constitution and repeatedly confirmed by succeeding General Conferences.

In execution of that duty—which nearly all the states here represented have made their own—I venture to submit for your consideration the following remarks:

(Continued page 12)

From forest to paper mill: (right to left) logs move downstream to pulp-mashing vats before being pressed through paper making machine from which they emerge as newsprint—ready for the rotaries.

## World Radio Caravan Proposed for Unesco

**A** plan to use mobile radio equipment for recording programmes of Unesco interest in different parts of the globe, was recommended by a committee of radio experts meeting at Unesco House, Paris early this month.

The committee suggested that radio producers from different national organizations should be invited to collaborate in producing these programmes.

It considered that the first of these tours, if approved, could cover several European countries and begin next Spring. If this plan proved a success, Unesco might examine the possibility of developing similar projects in other parts of the world.

Dr. Torres Bodet told the radio specialists that everything would be done to obtain approval from Unesco's General Conference to make these tours possible.

The committee, which included leading radio personalities from France, Switzerland, Belgium, Great Britain, Brazil, the United States and India, met to review the work accomplished by Unesco's Radio Unit during the past few months. It congratulated the Radio Unit on the standard of its work and the results already obtained and expressed the view that the Unit

should be given all necessary means not only to pursue but to increase this activity.

Over 30 countries are already making use of the scripts and recordings sent out from Unesco House, Paris, including the weekly "Unesco World Review".

The committee called for an increase in programmes along the lines of the recent "Music and Folklore" series to which seven countries contributed.

## D. Schneider, C. a Prato Named To Key Unesco Posts

**T**WO key positions in Unesco, which have remained vacant during the past year, were filled last month with the appointment of Mr. Douglas H. Schneider to head the Department of Mass Communications, and Dr. Carlo a Prato of Italy to the Bureau of Public Information. These are the first high-ranking appointments to be announced by Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet since he assumed directorship of Unesco late in 1948.



**D**OUGLAS Schneider, formerly chief of the Public Affairs Overseas Programme of the U.S. Department of State, took up his

new duties on May 1 and is expected to arrive in Paris about May 15. He is widely known in press, radio and film circles in Paris and other parts of Europe.

Educated in the United States, England and France, Mr. Schneider taught English, French and Latin in a boys' school near Paris and organized summer sessions in France in which U.S. university students met French students.

In 1940, Mr. Schneider returned to Washington last September and, until his recent resignation to accept the Unesco appointment, was chief of the Overseas Programme Staff Division which co-ordinates the informational and educational exchange programmes of the U.S. Department of State. He is 48 years of age.

When the United States enter-

ed the war, Mr. Schneider joined his country's Office of War Information as assistant chief, later chief, of the OWI Radio Programme Bureau in New York. In 1943 and 1944, he directed the "United Nations Radio" in the Mediterranean Theatre.

The cessation of hostilities found Mr. Schneider in the Division of Control of German Information, with responsibility for German mass communications media—press, publications, radio and films. He was transferred from Germany to the U.S. Embassy in Paris in November 1946. There, as Counselor of Embassy, he was in charge of the educational exchange, cultural and information programmes.

Mr. Schneider returned to Washington last September and, until his recent resignation to accept the Unesco appointment, was chief of the Overseas Programme Staff Division which co-ordinates the informational and educational exchange programmes of the U.S. Department of State. He is 48 years of age.



**A**N early and energetic opponent of Fascism and Nazism, Dr. Carlo a Prato is noted for a distinguished international career in journalism.

During the first World War, he wrote for journals in England, France and Scandinavia. As Press Officer of the Italian delegation, he attended the Versailles Peace Conference. In 1931, he founded and edited the international daily "Journal des Nations" in Geneva.

The beginning of World War II found him in Paris with Pertinax of the French weekly "L'Europe Nouvelle". During the war, he helped produce some of France's early underground newspapers. In 1941, he went to the United States to help create a national committee for Italian liberation. The following year, he became head of the Italian Section of the "Voice of America".

During his stay in the United States, he also founded the monthly review "Free World" and wrote for many newspapers and magazines, including the "New York Times", for which he had been one of the Geneva correspondents for over twelve years.

In 1944, he returned to Europe on assignment from the Allied Joint Chiefs of Staff, to act as liaison between northern Italian partisans and the French maquis.

# WHAT IS 'DEMOCRACY'?

We publish on this page extracts from a few of the replies received by Unesco in response to its enquiry into the current ideological controversies centering around the key-word "democracy".

These represent only a very small selection of the 30 questions and over 80 replies—(many more than 20 pages in length) which philosophers, historians and social scientists from all parts of the world sent to Unesco.

The results of the Unesco enquiry, along with a selection of the replies received will probably be published in book form.

**QUESTION :** "To what extent will you agree that the word 'democracy' is ambiguous?"

*Answer given by Professor Richard McKeon, University of Chicago:*

The word "democracy" is ambiguous not in the sense that many different formulae have been proposed to define its meaning, but in the sense that many different interpretations have been proposed and elaborated for a formula on which there has been remarkable continuity of agreement. Very few discussions of democracy, adverse or favourable, would be distorted in interpreting "democracy" as the "rule of the people in their own interest". The ambiguities in the interpretation of this formula arise from two interrelated sources : (1) the determination of the means by which the people may "rule in their own interest" and (2), the determination of who the "people" are. The discussion of the first source of ambiguity turns on defining terms like "law", "order", "freedom", and "equality", while the discussion of the second source turns on the relations between pairs of contrary terms such as "the many and the few" and "the poor and the rich".

**QUESTION :** "The opinion has become very widespread that there is no such thing as 'democracy' in general, but only a long series of 'democracies', differing with different historical, social and psychological conditions : there is Athenian democracy, Mediaeval democracy, Bourgeois democracy, Proletarian democracy, Soviet democracy, but no 'general democracy'. To what extent would you subscribe to this opinion?"

*Answer given by Professor Charles Bettelheim, University of Paris:*

Bourgeois democracy is a democracy for the bourgeoisie and a dictatorship for the proletariat. When bourgeois democracy is in its most democratic guise, this dictatorship takes the form, essentially, of an ideological dictatorship; it imposes on the proletariat (by means of the school, the church, the press, radio, film, etc.) views and ideals designed to maintain the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. But the weapons of material, violent dictatorship—the police, army, law courts and prisons—are always ready to hand, and are resorted to whenever the proletariat, as for instance on the occasion of a strike, strays from the path which the bourgeoisie wants it to follow. They are also resorted to when the ideological dictatorship is weakening and the proletariat subscribes to an ideology other than that of the bourgeoisie; the latter then attempts to substitute open dictatorship for the former masked dictatorship, and bourgeois democracy disappears.

Proletarian democracy, in its turn, is a democracy for the proletariat and a dictatorship for the bourgeoisie.

**QUESTION :** "Abraham Lincoln's famous Gettysburg phrase government of the people, by the people, for the people, has often been taken as a point of departure for clarifications of the essential criteria of 'democracy'; the preposition of indicating the obedience of the people to the government, the preposition by indicating the active participation of the people in the formation of the decisions taken by the government, and the preposition for indicating the value of these decisions for the general welfare of the people."

"How far do these formulations correspond to your own interpretation of the Lincoln formula?"

*Answer given by Professor Charles Perelman, Brussels University:*

Lincoln's definition of democracy as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, has been very popular with the practitioners of political philosophy, because, taken out of its context, it can always be interpreted to suit opposing political ideals. It is enough either to

## Confusion In Use of Term Studied

**T**HE peoples of the world, laymen no less than experts, have never been more conscious of the conflicting and contradictory ideas which surround them than in recent years. Ideological conflicts are present everywhere, between nations, within nations, between minds, within minds.

Few words have played a greater role in these disagreements than the word "democracy". The problem is one of vast implications. It is not just a question of terminology. It has its background in contrasts of historical development, of social conditions, of political patterns. It is deeply entangled in the immense cluster of problems raised by the impact of technology and industrial civilization on the lives of peoples everywhere. It is not only a problem of philosophy—it is a problem of war or peace.

Although many have tried to analyze the causes and responsibilities for disagreements, the problem has not yet been attacked on the international level within the general framework of organized efforts towards international understanding.

**I**n order to bring a little more clarity into present-day discussions, Unesco undertook a vast enquiry on the concept of "democracy". A questionnaire was sent to 500 philosophers, historians, jurists, economists and to all Unesco National Commissions.

Then, armed with the replies (small parts of which are reproduced on this page), a committee of experts from six countries met in Paris early this month "to consider the causes of ambiguity and confusion in the present use of the term 'democracy' and their role in political disputes today."

In a concluding declaration, signed by all six members, the committee found that there are not fixed and extreme poles of divergence and that "there are abundant indications of fundamental agreements."

Understanding is possible, the statement said, if "alleged facts are treated as facts and contrasted with facts" and if "ideals and theories are treated as aspirations and contrasted with other expressions of purpose and intention."

The declaration admitted that "clarification of the present-day ideological conflict... is not in itself sufficient to insure peace," adding however, that it would "serve to separate the real issues from the problems which arise from confusions of statement."

**C**LARITY of statement, therefore, "will make understanding possible" and by isolating the problems "it will simplify the total situation and permit the concentration of attention on practical issues and possible actions."

The declaration noted that "for the first time in the history of the world no doctrines are advanced as anti-democratic" and added that "even the most sharply contrasted forms of democracy share a common tradition of humanism."

The six experts admitted that "these basic agreements in statement are overlain with a great complexity of disagreements" but pointed out that "power rivalries tend to sharpen the ideological conflict into two opposed positions and to conceal the great variety of theories and parties."

In addition, the declaration continues, "the fact that the ideological conflict is not between two fixed and extreme views... affords grounds for the expectation that the conflict of ideologies may be clarified... The clarification of the issues will attenuate the effect on the general public of propaganda tending to incite to violence."

**T**HE statement concludes with the following words: "Ultimately the resolution of ideological conflicts depends on the free interchange of information, of cultural materials, and of persons. The peoples of the world cannot understand each other in all the diversities of their cultural, social and political lives... without freer and fuller contact with each other."

Members of the committee who drew up the report were Sergio Buarque de Hollanda (Brazil); Edward H. Carr (Great Britain); Richard McKeon (USA); Charles Perelman (Belgium); Pierre Ricœur (France); and Alf Roos (Denmark).

give a slightly different interpretation to each part of the definition or to stress one particular part. I have myself interpreted the phrase "government of the people" as proving that the people are the source of power in a democracy, for I do not see in what way the obedience of the people to the government is peculiar to democracy any more than to any other political system. It is difficult to say whether this definition represents three essential principles of the democratic system of government, because it is too vague to be the basis of an exact criterion. It is in fact possible to interpret and adapt this definition in such a way that it is applicable to systems whose democratic nature is open to doubt.

make it 'democratic' in the broad sense?"

*Answer given by Dr Max Nomad, of New York:*

It cannot; for under such a "narrow" system the enormous majority of the voters, in view of their unrelieved poverty, might be tempted to sell their vote to the highest bidder; or else that majority could easily fall for the promises of various totalitarian demagogues, thus enabling them to do away with the existing system of "formal" democracy for the sake of a despotism parading as a "broad", or "proletarian", or "people's" democracy.

**QUESTION :** "Should 'democracy' be used to cover a narrow concept, a political concept designating methods of decision-making, or should it be used to cover a broad concept, a socio-political concept designating conditions and methods as well as results of decision-making?"

*Answer given by Professor C.I. Lewis, Harvard University:*

To say that anything should be done implies some criterion of correctness. But the understood meanings of words are themselves the criteria of their correct usage. Unless or until there is a clear, understood, and agreed upon meaning of "democracy" the question whether "democracy" should be used in one way rather than another is a question which has no answer. Any answer offered will merely exhibit a preference or prejudice of him who answers.

**QUESTION :** "Can a 'democracy' in the narrow sense fulfil any of the requirements it involves if nothing is done to

not surprising that political democracy would have developed first in these countries. The present world situation of closer international contacts, but a continuance of power politics, undoubtedly creates conditions unfavourable to political democracy, conditions which can only be solved by world organization giving greater assurances of security to all states.

**QUESTION :** "To what extent do you consider the strict distinction between the concept 'method of decision-making' and the concept 'contents of decision made' a justified and fruitful one?"

What arguments would you think valid for supporting the tendency to reserve the word 'democracy' for the method of decision-making, thus rejecting it as a broader term comprehending the conditions, the methods and the contents of the decision-making?

The attacks upon this line of arguing have not lagged behind in violence.

*Answer given by Humayun Kabir, New Delhi:*

What is interesting to note in this connexion is that the protagonists of "democracy" and "socialism" are, in spite of their violent disagreement about the relative values of liberty and equality, at one in their dissociation of means from ends. The "democrat" emphasizes liberty and insists that whatever be the result, the method of taking decisions is what matters. So long as the appearance of a free political decision is there, it is immaterial to him whether the consequences bring social justice or not. In other words, he is concerned only with the means and not with the end. Equally, the "socialist" who insists that equality must be established in every sphere of life, whatever be the method adopted for achieving it, is prepared to flaunt his adherence to the view that the end justifies the means. Thus the two agree in the divorce of means from ends even though to one it is the means that alone matters, and to the other, the end.

To sum up, even if ends are not means, means and ends are so related that each modifies the character of the other. The condemnation of an end must, therefore, necessarily lead to the condemnation of the means to it. Contrarily, if the means are indefensible, this would immediately rouse doubts about the justification of the end itself.

**QUESTION :** "Does 'democracy' presuppose general agreement on fundamental, indisputable principles within the groups it is applied in: if so, what are these?"

*Answer by Dr. A.C. Ewing, Cambridge University:*

I do not think democracy presupposes general agreement on any fundamental principles except this one—that the differences between the rival parties are not sufficiently great to warrant their settlement by force."

**QUESTION :** "Is there any incompatibility between the ultimate political aims described by Lenin and the aims proclaimed by other idealists to be of ultimate or intrinsic value?"

*Answer given by Professor Stanislas Ossowski, Warsaw University:*

When we follow the discussion between the ideological adversaries in the two camps on questions of principle, we are struck by the fact that there is no lack of a common language. The case is otherwise in their discussions with the partisans of racism—with those who acknowledge the swastika. Both, in stating the reasons for their programmes, invoke the same values, though the emphasis is not placed on them in the same way. The condemnation of the western democracies, which is delivered by the advocate of the socialization of the means of production, is not a condemnation of the cult of freedom. The battle with economic liberalism, the battle with bourgeois liberalism, can be engaged under the banner of a liberalism differently conceived. The argument in such discussions is, in general, designed to show that the other camp has betrayed or debased the ideals to which both adversaries have subscribed. In saying this I do not mean to under-estimate the essential differences between the two camps, the differences between their scales of values and their ways of reacting to various present-day facts in social and political life. We shall, indeed, examine how it is possible to arrive at such sharp ideological contrasts, when the main postulates in each case have been the same. In this way we shall also throw some light on the divergency of meaning attached to the word "democracy".

# More Newsprint Production Urged

## CULTURAL NEEDS STRESSED

(Continued from page 10)

**T**is a fact that, since the end of the war, there has been an appreciable improvement in the world production of newsprint. This is mainly due to the increase of North American production, which has risen by 25% in four years. To take an instance, Canada is today producing over a million tons more than in 1945 (which, including Newfoundland, makes a total of 4,535,000 tons, or 60% of world production). That is a remarkable effort, to which tribute may properly be paid.

### MARKET DEMAND VERSUS REAL NEEDS

**A**t this point I should like to revert to the notion I have just mentioned of the intellectual needs of the peoples of the world.

I know that the newsprint demand for 1949 has been calculated at about 8,200,000 tons; in view of the estimated production, the margin left will be small. Even if governments abolished the restrictions on the import of pulp, coal or paper called for by the present exchange position, and we suddenly reverted to a universal system of free trade, demand would probably not greatly exceed 9 1/2 million tons. That is a target by no means unattainable if it is borne in mind that there is today an unused productive capacity amounting to nearly 1,400,000 tons.

But what do the figures mean? Merely that those are the amounts of newsprint which governments or the press think could be bought and consumed commercially. They do not mean that those are the amounts which peoples should consume to be properly informed, yet that is the real standard.

To assess correctly—that is, in terms of humanity how far production is adequate, its relation to demand is not enough. Demand is a market phenomenon which very imperfectly reflects the real desires of the community and still more imperfectly its objective needs. Today more than ever before, there are too many factors keeping demand to a minimum below the real requirements of social and international progress; financial restrictions, politics, lack of resources, and technical ignorance.

### The Ever Widening Gap

**T**is untrue to say that the real needs cannot be calculated.

On the contrary, they stare us all in the face, and are set down in black and white in demographic and school statistics. Now it is indisputable that between the needs implied by those statistics, on the one hand, and, on the other, production—and, even more, quantities commercially available—there is a yawning gap, which must grow wider in the near future.

### INDIAN NEWSPRINT

In India, the production of paper for newspapers and books is vital for the fight against illiteracy. Plans recently announced in New Delhi provide for the manufacture of 250,000 tons of paper in 1952, including the first production of newsprint in India.

Even in industrialized countries with a low percentage of illiterates, the press does not everywhere enjoy adequate supplies. As an instance, in the older countries of Western Europe, the combination of exchange difficulties, the general needs of reconstruction and military expenditure has made restrictions necessary, reducing consumption to a glaringly inadequate level, although the productive capacity of those countries is more than adequate to their needs. This is true of the United Kingdom, of France, of Holland and Italy, where annual consumption in kilogrammes per head has sunk respectively be-

7 1/2 million tons; the average for the period 1935-1939 was slightly lower.

This brings us to the first question, whether this output is sufficient; and Unesco's reply is an emphatic negative.

In Unesco's eyes there is a serious shortage which threatens to grow progressively worse in the coming years and decades unless we now take energetic steps to speed up the expansion of production.

### VERSUS REAL NEEDS

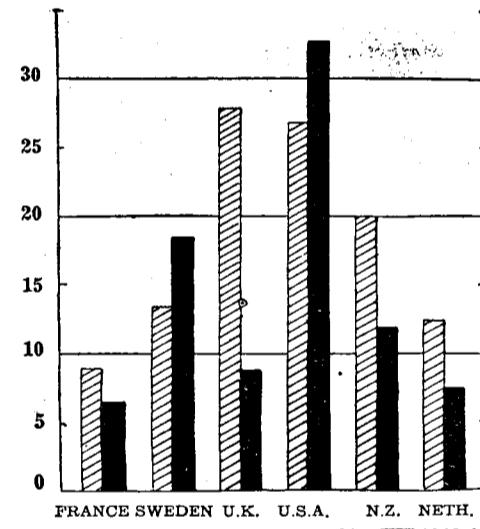
Between 1935-1939 and 1948, from 26.2 to 8, from 8.8 to 6.4, from 12.2 to 6.3 and from 1.7 to 1.3.

Even the United States and Canada, whose joint consumption exceeds 5 million tons, or 2/3rds of the total world production, anticipate requiring about a million tons more in the coming years.

### Spurious Equilibrium

**W**HAT then of the vast continents of South America, Asia and Africa, containing 67% of the planet's population but consuming barely 11% of the world's newsprint? Their populations are increasing rapidly; in India alone the numbers grow by 2,300,000 every year and everywhere a political, economic, technical and intellectual evolution

ANNUAL NEWSPRINT CONSUMPTION IN KILOGRAMS PER HEAD



on an enormous scale is taking shape and gathering speed, which demands and is already beginning, a large-scale expansion of teaching.

In the fourteen years between 1934 and 1948, Uruguay, Ecuador and Cuba doubled, and Venezuela trebled, their consumption of paper; but it has not been the same in China, to which we owe the invention of paper but whose own consumption per head per year does not exceed 0.1 kilogramme, despite a 10% increase in the last ten years in the numbers able to read; nor in India and Pakistan, which are about level with China; nor in Siam, which consumes less than before the war though the number of people who can read and write has risen by 17% in seven years; nor of Turkey, whose consumption is down by 20% despite the continued spread of education.

Thus, although production is up to the pre-war level and the time is near when it will be equal to the commercial demand, there could clearly be no course more dangerous nor more unjust than to accept this spurious equilibrium.

### Abnormal, Unhealthy Situation

**M**ORE than half the world's population is still illiterate. Yet everywhere there is insufficient paper, and that unfairly divided, for those who can read. Those are the basic facts which we must have constantly before

our eyes if we wish to evolve a plan of production up to the real needs of humanity. It is a situation which must be, not accepted, but condemned as abnormal and corrected as unhealthy. Otherwise we should be striving to halt the rising tide of history.

But I have emphasized the extent of the needs to be met too strongly to omit an indication of a few steps liable to do something towards increasing present production.

Some of these steps concern paper-making proper, others the production and utilization of wood.

With regard to paper-making, it is important to secure the full utilization of existing mechanical capacity: I have already pointed out that a fraction of this, of some 1,400,000 tons capacity, is still unused, of which about a third is in Great Britain. We must also mention Japan, whose production has fallen from 400,000 tons to 100,000 tons, and Germany, which has not yet reached half of its pre-war production. I do not overlook the complex and often indirect causes of this. I merely say it is important that an effort be made to find a remedy.

### More Paper Mills Wanted

**T**is quite clear, however, that, even if present manufacturing capacity were fully utilized and the most up-to-date methods applied to it, it could not fill the needs of tomorrow in particular. In the circumstances, it appears necessary to consider the large-scale building and equipment of new factories, notwithstanding the enormous difficulties due to the high cost of machinery where prices are 2 1/2 times above the pre-war level, and to the considerable time-lag involved. Despite these difficulties, projects of great interest are under consideration or in hand in various countries. Such efforts must be encouraged and, if need be, assisted, for instance, by arranging to supply these countries with engineers and technicians.

Similarly, if only to economize in the use of forest reserves, it is desirable to stimulate research into the possibility of replacing wood pulp, in part at least, by other materials such as straw, rice straw, sugar cane fibre, rushes, bamboo and certain tropical growths. Unhappily, it must be admitted that the experiments so far carried out in this connexion are far from conclusive as regards newsprint, which must conform to specialized standards to be capable of being handled by high-speed rotary presses. The results so far obtained, like those of the various methods of salvage by remilling or de-inking of old paper, cannot do more than palliate the shortage. However, as I said before, the needs are so great and so urgent that no supplementary source should be overlooked.

### Priority for Five Trees

**T**URNING to wood production, it is not for a layman like myself to offer the least suggestion to such experts as you. Nevertheless, where the use of wood by the paper-making industry is concerned, no one can fail to be struck by two outstanding facts.

The first is what I have no hesitation in describing as the very small percentage represented by paper-making in the total figures of timber used. During the last few years that percentage has been reduced still further, particularly in Europe, by the urgent needs for fuel, building material and textiles consequent on the ravages of war. Even in Canada,

### UNESCO TO RE-PUBLISH

## Out-of-Print Periodicals

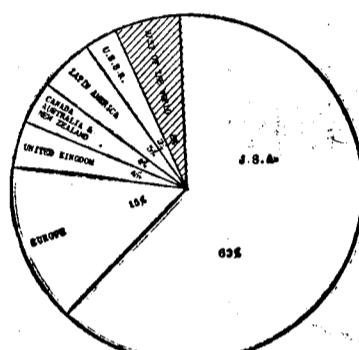
Important out-of-print periodicals may soon be available in microfilm or photo-offset reproductions, according to a plan recently devised by Unesco as a result of numerous requests made by war-damaged and newly established libraries and research institutions for help in obtaining copies of such journals.

As the first step in this plan Unesco has selected a small

number of out-of-print periodicals to be reproduced and has contacted the original publishers. When final arrangements have been completed, lists of the periodicals indicating reproduction costs and other data will be circulated to possible subscribers. Microfilm or photo-offset copies will be made, according to request, by contracting with commercial establishments.

I am assured that paper-making has never accounted for more than 17% of the total lumber felled.

The other fact regarding the utilization of wood by the paper-



World newsprint consumption.

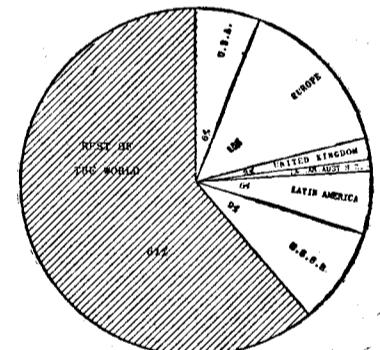
making industry is the extremely small number of species suitable for manufacture into newsprint.

Despite the experiments carried out in a number of countries on certain tropical timbers, the usable species remain the fir, balsam, poplar and spruce; recently the Mediterranean pine has been added to the number; it has given excellent results in the Southern United States and has the added advantage of quick growth.

These facts seem to me to indicate the lines which international co-operation should follow. I am of course well aware that wood has to serve many purposes vital to man. Nevertheless, I should like to ask this Conference to consider the possibility of including among the recommendations to be addressed to Governments, a proposal to raise the percentage of timber production set aside for paper-making. At the very least, I think it is necessary to give priority in manufacture to the use of the species enumerated above.

### UNEQUAL NEWSPRINT DISTRIBUTION

bia and Peru, 0.9 for the Philippines and 0.4 for Ceylon.



World population.

### With Goodwill Destroy Inequality

**T**is not for Unesco to suggest here remedies for this situation. But it is Unesco's duty to appeal on each occasion to the goodwill of all in order to correct as far as possible such inequality in the distribution of a product so essential for the intellectual and social progress of humanity.

It may be that the general plan of this preparatory Conference which is concerned with all the problems relating to the various uses of timber, may forbid the necessary exhaustive study of the questions I have raised. Should this be so, it is my hope that a special conference should be called at a later date to be devoted solely to the question of paper and newsprint.

I should like, however, already, in wishing you all success in your work, to thank you again for giving me the opportunity to join my efforts to yours. I know that my appeal will not have been in vain. Between those who supervise the growth of trees and those who are devoted to the education of children, there is a natural and undeniable sympathy.

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